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WHY IRELAND IS POOR.

RIPE FRUIT FROM THE TREE OF BRITISH FREE TRADE.

"The industry of a Country is the Corner Stone of a Nation."
"An ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory."

BY

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WHY IRELAND IS POOR.

INTRODUCTORY.

For some unaccountable reason the masses of the Irish people are not aware how important a part the question of native industry played in the subjugation of Ireland. It may be that in the exuberance of their martial ardor, our historians have not considered it worth while to treat such an every-day subject as labor, or that in the glories of Brian Boru and Fontenoy they have neglected to teach the people how to be free, happy and great "by the sweat of the brow." It is known to comparatively few that Ireland—now a mendicant before the nations of the earth, with her children flying from her bosom, as from that of a viper, after hundreds of years of as brave a struggle in behalf of their native land as any people on the face of the globe—has been reduced to its present condition not by the sword, but by the application in her domestic government of that principle of political economy known as free trade.

I believe all Irishmen, particularly in the United States, should know this, for several reasons chief of which is, that learning what the results of free trade have been in their native land, they might prevent a like fate befalling this republic, by avoiding the confidence game of the conspirators, who now are trying to apply the same political economy to our domestic government; break down our industries, impoverish and weaken the Nation; and "trust to luck" for an opportunity, to "burst the bubble," as they hoped it was burst in 1861.

This pamphlet will, in a limited way, give some facts connected with the down-fall of Irish industry, not to be found on the book shelves of every Irishman. It will show how Ireland became poor. Slavery, emigration and death are the companions of national poverty; *Ireland has the trinity.* The writer has no object in publishing this pamphlet other than to hope it will attract his countrymen towards a train of thought* that will make them better citizens, and more intelligent enemies of British Aggression. To my American fellow citizens, it may serve as an introduction, that will lead them to investigate the down-fall of the Irish nation, and thus enable them to learn from the experience of that country, what a bottomless pit the road terminates in, that British Free Trade Theorists would have us travel.

*For which I would recommendtheworks of Henry C. Carey, a distinguished, son of a distinguished Irishman. The works are published by a worthy descendant of the family, Henry Carey Baird, Philadelphia.

PART I.

THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF IRELAND.

Ireland has suffered from five famines in the last century and three in this. To one who is not a close student of Irish history, it would seem from these often occurring famines, that the "Verdant and Emerald" Isle was a myth and that Ireland had not sufficient natural resources above or beneath the earth to support her people. That the reader may more fully realize the destructive character of British free trade, I will mention some of the natural resources of Ireland quoting facts taken from Robert Kane's Work on that subject.

The Anthracite coal-fields of Leinster extend over a great portion of the counties of Kilkenny, Queen's county and Carlow, and are estimated to contain 63,000,000 tons. The Tipperary coal fields are 20 miles long and in parts 6 miles wide. The Munster coal-fields, the largest in the British Empire, occupy a large portion of the counties of Clare, Limerick, Cork, and Kerry. The Bituminous coal-fields of Tyrone cover 7000 acres (Irish). Anahone coal district contains 320 acres, Antrim has a small coal district, also Monahan and Mulvagh Bay. The Connaught coal-fields extend over a large part of the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, Leitrim and Cavan, covering an area of 114,000 acres (Irish). To these immense coal-fields, add 2,830,000 acres of Bog (Peat), which has 44 per-cent the economic value of coal, which shows Ireland to be well provided with fuel.

The water power of Ireland equals 1,452,150 horse power, capable of working night and day, the year round, and this power can be more than doubled by building basins, reservoirs, &c., that would economize the rain fall to be used in dry seasons. Nearly all the lakes of Ireland could be converted into vast reservoirs to be utilized as power for manufacturing purposes.

Iron exists in large quantities in Tyrone, Kilkenny, on the shores of Lough Allen, Fermanah, Cavan, Queen's county, Clare, Roscommon and Leitrim; Copper exists in Wicklow and Waterford. The lead mines of Wicklow, Waterford, Dublin and Clare, Cork, Kerry, Tipperary and north of Dublin are very extensive. Gold and Silver mines exist in Wicklow and Cork; Antimony in Clare and Armagh; Magnesia and its Sulphate exist in vast quantities; Alum and Slate in Clare and Kerry; Pipe clay, White and Fire clay, Fullers' earth; Pipe and Tileclay in every part of Ireland; 600 different kinds of stone and Marble and slate. It would seem from this partial enumeration of the resources that nature has supplied the Island with more than an average quantity of raw material, add to which a rich soil, a climate neither hot in summer nor cold in winter, with harbors and commercial advantages equal if not superior to any country of her size in the world, and the wonder is that any power of man or demon could create so much misery, where God has extended his blessings in such abundance.

PART II.

THE INDUSTRIES OF IRELAND

If the condition of a country is to be judged from its people, a person would judge from the Irish people that Ireland produced only scholars and laborers; and that the art of mechanism, was only known in its crudest domestic form. This would be an injustice, for we must look behind the present if we would know the truth of the cause that has led to the unhappy condition of the Irish people. In tracing briefly a sketch of Irish industries, I do so with a desire of pointing out the effect the destruction of the industries of a country has on a nation's life. Ireland, previous to the destruction or her industries, had all the vigor and manhood of a nation, with power and strength to resist its enemies at home and abroad. After its industries were destroyed, it crumbled away before the march of time, like an uncemented wall of sand, incapable of preserving its own life as a nation, or the individual lives of its people.

"A thousand years before the Christian era, colors for dyeing purple, green and yellow, were known and used." "Golden helmets, chains, rings, colors, swords, shields richly ornamented, cloaks and other garments of the finest texture, chariots, and even chess and back gammon were manufactured by the Irish."—*Marmion's Maritime Ports.*

B. C. 900, during the reign of Eochaedh, surnamed the *Learned Doctor*, a law was passed in the interest of mechanism, it empowered a commission of each trade, to prevent any one working at said trade, if they were not expert at their art or profession.—*Mooney's History of Ireland.*

A. D. 125, "Tradesmen and mechanics, as well as artists of all professions were put under the management of a committee, who had power to examine into their abilities, to reform abuses and suspend such as by their unfairness or want of skill, brought their occupation into discredit."—*Plowden, Review of Ireland.*

The brooches and golden and bronze ornaments that have been found in Ireland during the present century, with engraved filigree work that can't be excelled, if it can be equalled at the present day, indicate a very high state of mechanism among the ancient Irish. Still, a greater evidence of the ancient Irish having a diversified industry was their capacity to withstand the shock of the Danish invasion that poured down in hordes on the Irish Coast from 812, until finally expelled in 1014. A people not well advanced in the arts of industry, could not sustain an almost continual war of two hundred years, as the Irish did against the Danes.

The late rebellion of the South illustrates the force of this fact. Previous to the war cotton was king, and free trade was their political shibboleth. War found them leaning on foreign countries for all their arms, ammunition, clothing, medicine, &c. England was unfavorable to the North, as a consequence the North was compelled to start her shops to make all the engines of war; this led to almost prohibiting foreign manufactured goods from coming into the country; the result was that every day strengthened the North, and weakened the South.

The Anglo Normans in the 12th century found the Irish industries in a progressive condition, and they did considerable to encourage them, for it would seem the English of that day had not arrived at the high perfection of the present government, whose motto is "First to impoverish the easier to enslave."

The Plantagenets and Tudors, though intent on subjugating the country, encouraged the trade and manufactures.

In 1289, (in the reign of Edward I.), Irish produce and manufactures had free export, the same as Irish cloth, Freize and wool. In 1360, under Edward III., Irish woolens, Freize cloth and Serge were in great repute, and were manufactured in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Ross, Drogheda and Trim. In the reign of Richard II., mantles from these goods called a *cadow*, were exported to England, duty free. The same privilege was granted in Italy. Encouragement like this, and years of experience, brought the Irish Woolen trade up to a standard that was fast attracting the attention of the world. All this time the English possessions in Ireland were limited to a few miles, around Dublin, known as the Pale. It was only when England could not conquer the Irish people by war, that she introduced the system of destroying Irish industries, the more easily to destroy Irish Liberty, which system was first introduced by the ungrateful Stuarts, and afterwards rigidly enforced by William III., Prince of Orange.

At the opening of the Sixteenth Century, Iron mills were located in Tallow, county Cork, Dingle, in Kerry and in Desart in King's county.

Mines were worked in Fermanagh, Cavan, Tyrone, Queen's county, Clare, Roscommon and Leitrim. The product of these mines, after being manufactured, was generally shipped from Waterford to *London*. So that over three hundred years ago, the capital of the British Empire was supplied with iron from Ireland. If that Industry had been carefully nurtured up to this time, Ireland would not now have a periodical famine, nor would her children be scattered over the earth, the hewers of wood and drawers of water. England saw and feared this, and through restrictive law and the agency of British gold and British protection transferred those industries to herself, resulting in wealth for England and poverty for Ireland. This should be a lesson for America. About this time the linen trade was introduced into Ireland, and a great many emigrants from the continent came to Ireland to take advantage of the manufacturing facilities that country possessed.

The Revolution of 1641, and the subsequent raid of Cromwell put out the fires of Irish industry for a time. In the enforcement of the "hell or to Connaught" proclamation of Cromwell, the English settlers pleaded for the retention of the native Irish among them on account of their superior industrial knowledge. Vincent Gookin, an Englishman, at that time published "Case of Transplantation Discussed." In it he pleads with Cromwell: "Moreover, there are few of the Irish peasantry, but were skillful in husbandry and more exact than any of the English in the husbandry proper to the country, few of the women but were skillful in dressing hemp and flax, and making woolen cloth. In every hundred men, there were five or six masons and carpenters, at least, and much more skillful in supplying the defects of instruments and materials than English artificers."—*Prendergast's, Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

During the period from Cromwell to James II., the Irish developed their industries against the restrictive laws of England, and the efforts of Earl of Essex and Sir William Temple, who used all their diplomacy to induce them to give up the woolen trade to England. The result was that although Cromwell left Ireland with its industry suspended, its people starving, and many of its cities in ruins, in a few years the fires of industry were lighted, which in time grew to more than its old proportions. This brought wealth and prosperity to the country, and enabled the Irish

to take up arms in defence of him whom they thought their legitimate King, James II., against the combined English forces under William III. Prince of Orange. James II. was a coward and poltroon and a brave people lost their liberty and country by taking up his cause.

PART III.

IRELAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

There is one feature of the struggle between Ireland and England, to which I wish to call the special attention of my readers: Up to the year 1698, the English government—although using all the ingenuity of torture and the most depraved treachery combined with all the force at its command had not conquered the spirit of the people. At this period the people of England jealous of the recuperating powers of the Irish determined to take from them the source of recuperation. True, during the regime of the Stuarts, England passed some restrictive laws, but it was principally against the raw materials; and her agents tried to coax the Irish people to give up their industries for England's benefit; but as the restrictive laws of the Stuarts were not so sweeping in their character as those of William III., and the blarney of the English agents was not good logic, the Irish still progressed in their industries and Ireland retained the spirit and character of a nation. Her most glorious achievements since the Anglo-Norman invasion were previous to this period.

"Every appearance, report, or even suspicion of dissension, weakness, or disorder within the *pale*, was the signal for the Septs to fly to arms and harass the English, of whom their hatred was implacable." Every defeat of the English was followed by an inundation of more formidable forces; the submission of the Irish was often abject—always precarious and occasional, but never lasted longer than the English forces commanded a decided superiority."—*Plowden's Review of Ireland.*

It was previous to this period that our country offered such inducements to the stranger that those who came to Ireland as invaders threw off the garb of the enemy, joined the ranks of the natives and became "More Irish than the Irish themselves." Since that period, excepting the 18 years of the Irish parliament from 1782 to 1800, the natives, though loving the land beyond anything on this earth, with aching hearts flew from it as if it was pest ridden. It was previous to the destruction of Irish industry by William III. that the O'Rourc's, O'Byrnes, O'Neils, Tyrones and Sarsfields illuminated Irish history with their deeds. Where are the Irish heroes and battlefields since? Excepting the short period referred to which protected Irish industry, the history of Ireland is the record of a vast funeral procession, mourning with clinched teeth over the grave of some heart, that

"Indignant breaks"
"To show that still she lives."

For generations the English people were building up a native industry by protective tariff and restrictive law, conquests and subsidies were made and given to build up her industry, her mechanics were not permitted to leave England, so fearful was she that the genius of her experience would benefit other countries. So jealous was she of any opposition, that her parliament, navy, and army were always at the service of her trade and manufacturing interests. Ireland from her superior facilities, salubrious climate, and the attention paid to its manufactures attracted to her

shores some of the best workmen of Europe, the consequence of which was that Ireland was fast pushing her trade to all parts of the world. This aroused the cupidity of "John Bull," and when William III., Prince of Orange, became fixed on the throne, the manufacturers of England, through parliament in 1698, addressed the King as follows:

"That the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life and *goodness of material for making all manner of cloth*, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants to leave their habitation and settle there, to the increase of the woolen manufacturing in Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the *further growth* of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacturing here by which the trade of the nation and value of land will very much decrease and the number of your people be much lessened here."—*Sir Hely Hutchinson, Restriction of Irish Trade.* William III. in his answer to Parliament said: "I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woolen trade of Ireland * * * and promote the trade of England."—*Ibid.*

Just what England would do to day with the United States if she had the power; lacking in power she hires her Mongrediens to publish falsehoods, addressed to the American farmers, hoping with their aid to break down the tariff of this country, that she might annihilate American industry as she did that of Ireland. True to his word William III. suppressed the woolen trade of Ireland; the iron trade, and such other industries as had heretofore kept the manhood of Ireland employed, soon followed; immediately idleness, poverty and famine took the places that were formerly occupied by industry, wealth and happiness. The years 1703, 1716, 1721, 1727, 1729, 1740, 1741, 1757, 1765, were seasons of distress and famine. The people emigrated to the West Indies, America and France, in fact to any part of the world where work could be obtained. Riots became the order of the day, the heretofore peaceable and prosperous workingmen goaded by hunger became the tramps of that day, roamed, robbed and rioted under the appellation of *White Boys, Steel Boys, Oak Boys, Peep of Day Boys, &c.* Such a deplorable condition of affairs existed during the three quarters of a century, following the suppression of Irish industry by William III., Prince of Orange, that *Sir Hely, Hutchison,* writing in 1779, on the state of the country, uses the following forcible language:

"Compare this period with the former and you will prove this melancholy truth, that a country will sooner recover from the miseries and devastations occasioned by war, invasion, rebellion, massacre, than from laws restraining the commerce, fettering the industry, and above all breaking the spirit of the people."

The American citizen who may be lulled into the belief that the introduction of Free Trade, (by which the present industries of America would be destroyed), will benefit this country, should pause in the midst of his theories and investigate facts from this period of Irish history, that at one fell swoop reduced a people and a country from prosperity to indigence and poverty.

About the year 1762 Dean Swift appeared like a giant above the chaos and ruin that weighed down Ireland, he hurled red-hot shot at English cupidity, that would destroy a nation in order to remove a competitor; then it was that he sent that scathing sentence around the world to counteract English selfishness: "Burn everything that comes from England, but her coal." Swift was the first person who pointed out to the Irish the necessity of associating themselves against the use of foreign manufactured goods, and to those *non-importation* associations must the credit be given for the patriotic ardor that afterwards prevaded the ranks of the Irish volunteers of 1782. By means of "Drapier's" letters, Swift aroused

the people; *they were written so as to be understood by the masses*, and he used the cheapest medium of distribution; they were hawked about the streets of Dublin, pasted up in the ale houses, distributed about the country, and every farmer found one on his table. The prosecution of Swift by the government only advertised the "Drapiers" letters, and made them still more sought for; patriotism grew amazingly, newspapers appeared and fanned the flame, until merchants, manufacturers, public officials, and people formed non-importation associations in the principal cities. In Dublin, the association passed, among others, the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That we will not directly or indireetly import or use any goods or wares, the product or manufacture of Great Britain, which can be produced in this kingdom."

Similar resolutions were adopted at Waterford, Belfast and other cities, in consequence of which the manufacturing interest of Ireland began to revive. Out of these non-importation associations grew the Irish volunteers, which gave such an impetus to the spirit of patriotism, that we find the glorious spectacle of a people by force of individual action, combination and sacrifice lift up their home industries, into a high state of prosperity, while English goods, filling the warehouses of the land, remaining unsold, although they were offered at much lower prices than the people were paying for home products. What a spirit of patriotism for the American people to emulate. The English government had on its hand at this time the war for American freedom. The success of the patriots in America gave encouragement to Ireland. The citizens of Dublin and other places watched with a jealous eye the merchants who dealt in foreign goods, and published their names in the paper, which practice made it very unpopular and unprofitable to deal in English goods. *John Mitchell* in his his history of Ireland gives the condition of affairs at that time.

The patriotic action of the Irish, Mitchell says, the English press "Denounced as the policy of savages and pointed out the Irish people to the contumely of Europe."

"At the same time, the English manufacturers, ever careless of present sacrifices to secure permanent advantages, flooded the country towns with the accumulated products of the woolen manufacture, which, owing to the American war and other causes had remained on their hands, they offered these goods to small shop-keepers at the lowest possible prices, and desired them to name their own time for payment."

"The volunteers and the leaders of the movement were equally active on their side. The press, the pulpit and ball-rooms were enlisted in the cause of native industry.' * * * Trade revived, the manufacturers who had thronged the city of Dublin, the ghastly apparitions of decayed industry, found employment provided for them by the patriotism and spirit of the country, the proscribed goods of England remained unsold, or only sold under false colors by knavish and profligate retailers. The country enjoyed some of the fruits of freedom before she obtained freedom itself."

How very like is the action of the British press to-day which seeks now through the Cobden Club, to "hold up" the American people "to the contumely" of the world because we will not remove our tariff, destroy American industry, that they, the English, may reap profit from our ruin.

As free traders of to-day use the argument that it was free trade that Ireland wanted at this period on account of the non-importation societies and volunteer organizations using the words free trade in their resolutions, I quote from *John Mitchell's* History of Ireland, page 128, the following which should settle that question:

"To force from reluctant England a Free Trade, and the repeal or rather declaratory nullification, of Poyning's law, which required the Irish Parliament to submit the heads

of their bills to the English Privy Council, before they could presume to pass them, these were in a few words; the two great objects which the leaders of the volunteers kept now steadily before them."

"It must be observed that the idea and the term "Free Trade," as then understood in Ireland, did not represent what the political economists now call free trade. What was sought was a release from these restrictions on Irish trade imposed by an Engiish Parliament and for the profit of the English people. This did not mean that imports and exports should be free of all duty to the State, but only that the fact of import or export itself should not be restrained by foreign laws, and that the duties to be derived from it should be imposed by Ireland's own Parliament, and in the sole interest of Ireland herself. This distinction is more important to be observed because modern "free traders" in Ireland and England have sometimes appealed to the authority of the enlightened men who then governed the volunteer movement, as authority in favor of abolishing import and export duties. The citation is by no means applicable.

PART IV.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

When the Parliament of 1782 met, Grattan presented the "Declaration of Rights," which declared that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland only had the power to make laws for Ireland. With ill-concealed regret, England conceded this, as 70000 armed volunters demanding freedom were not to be trifled with. She looked to the future and took every advantage to sow the seed of discord among the then rulers of Ireland, which unfortunately, owing to jealously and religious bigotry, was not difficult to do. However, the Parliament partaking of the patriotism of the people set to work to repair the damages to Irish trade caused by English avarice. One of the first measures introduced was a motion for a high tariff to protect Irish industry, "The People," says *Plowden* "flocked round the parliament house in anxious expectation of the protecting duties being established in their favor:"

The executive part of government, subject to the appointing power of the King, did not give active support to the measure, but procrastinated in the interest of England. Still the tradesmen, business men, merchants and manufacturers kept up the agitation for protection. The citizens of Dublin petitioned the King in their country's interests, in which petition appears the following:

"Protection has been denied to our infant trade and manufactures, which England thinks necessary to the maturity and vigour ofhers." *Plowden's Ireland*, Vol. 3, page 94.

With a jealousy that was truly patriotic, and which should be apostrophized as

"The vigilance of Liberty,"

The people demanded and looked to Parliament "for protecting their own manufactures and enforcing the consumption of them at home by levying heavy duties on similar manufactures imported from other countries."—*Plowden's Review of Ireland.*

To meet the wishes of the people, the Ways and Means Committee of Parliament investigated the situation during the winter of 1782-1783, which resulted in the chairman, Mr. Gardner, on the 2d day of April 1783, introducing measures towards protecting Irish industry, and supporting the proposition in the following patriotic speech, from which some of our congressmen can draw lessons of wisdom at this day:

"I shall, sir, first state the purport of my propositions. This is a measure to restrain importation, but does not affect the exportation of raw materials. Gentlemen would

have the evidence on that head also included in the report of the committee, but one had no connection with the other. The committee was ordered to inquire into the state of manufacturing at large; but they did it partially. They confined themselves to the woolen branch—blankets, carpets, hats, &c. My system is not confined to these objects only, but also includes paper, hardware, and other articles. The weaving branch is certainly a very material branch of commerce, but other objects also have their weight. * * * * * The people of England will think it no cause of emnity with us that we follow their example. She adopted protective duties, because she thought it her interest. Let us act the same part. What is good for one must be good for the other. * * * * I confess, sir, that I am strongly biased in its favor. The despondency and distress of this country, together with the justice and expeidency of the measure itself, must make every gentleman its friend. Who can behold so many thousands of his fellow-creatures struggling with calamities, almost insupportable by humanity, and not be inclined to give relief? The misfortune is not particular; 'tis universal. Not confined to Dublin, it extends to Cork, Limerick, Waterford, the Queen's county, and every part of the kingdom where woolen manufactures are carred on—not limited even to the woolen, but affecting every infant manufactory in this country. * * * If gentlemen wish to judge fairly, it is right to waive theory and speculation, and confine their attention to the different effects of the different modes adopted in Great Britain and Ireland, they will perceive that the long depression of this country is owing to a want of protection for her trade. In England, to what is owing the great degree of power and wealth she has attained but to protecting duties? Now, sir, I shall enter on the main part of the business; and let me entreat gentlemen to be free from prejudice, to divest themselves of every bias. I do not mean to proceed on speculation, but to reason from facts, and the ties of policy of the two kingdoms. England has flourished from adopting protecting duties, and Ireland has sunk by a neglect of them. Woolens were always the staple commodity of this country, as well as of England. It was so far back as Edward III., in whose reign acts of Parliament were passed, in which we find clauses for protecting the trade of Ireland. At every period before 1698 we enjoyed every advantage of a free country; we had nothing then to contend with, as no jealousy existed in the breast of England before the last mentioned period. Our trade was guaranteed by *Magna Charta;* our exports acknowledged by that venerable statue—no treaty was made in which we were not nominally or virtually included.

"Antecedent to the year 1698 our exports were double our imports, and the amount of shipping almost doubled in the ten preceeding years. At that period the balance of trade was exceedingly in favor of Ireland, being no less than £224,000 per year. If we consider the difficulties this country labored under in those days, and the comparative value of money then and now, this will be found enormous balance. When Ireland exhibited nothing but continued scenes of dis turbance, disunion, tumult, and, frequently, of civil wars within herself, to what are we to attribute her advantages inc ommerce but to her protecting duties, her geographical situation, and industry? * * * * * * The first stab, which was given in the reign of William III., to our rising trade, was in 1698, when a corrupt majority in this House laid a duty on cloths exported to England. Some spirited and patriotic members standing up to oppose this measure, it was defended on the ground of being an experiment, and that itwould continue only for three years, but was, in the year following, made perpetual. Let us mark the consequence. The manufacturers, no longer able to find subsistence at home, emigrated where they were received with open arms. The French, notwithstanding every exertion, had been unable to establish the woolen manufactories, until they procured Irish wool to mix with their own, and Irishmen to weave it. They then, conscious of the advantages of protecting their trade, laid additional duties on the importation of English cloth. The event soon confirmed with what propriety they adopted these protectiug duties. They (the French) in a short time manufactured enough for the home market, and by raising, from time to time, the protecting duties, at length to a prohibition, are enabled not only to rival Great Britian, but to undersell her in every market of Europe. * * * * Another argument in favor of this proposition can be drawn from the great benefits that this country derived from a power obtained by James, Duke of Ormond, of prohibiting the importation of Scotch manufactures. The protection was obtained against Scotland, and not England, because we were not afraid of the latter. The utility of this dnty was so great as to give in our favor, a balance, notwithstanding the pernicious effects of the Plantation laws, and other unfair restrictions of King William's reign on our trade. Let no man say that England is so insensible of her own interests as to be averse to this measure, England, from unhappy experience, is convinced of the pernicious effects of her implomacy. The emigration of the Irish manufacturers in the reign of King William is not the only instance that taught that nation the ruinous effects of restrictive laws. Our own remem-

brance has furnished one instance of the truth of this assertion—furnished it in the American war. *America was lost by Irish emigrants.* These emigrations are fresh in the recollection of every gentleman in this House; and, when the unhappy differences took place, I am assured, from the best authority, *that the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was as commonly spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed it was their valor determined the contest;* so that England not only lost the principal protection of her woolen trade in Europe, *but also had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants.* * * * * In 1779 this country, no longer able to support the pernicious effects of the oppression under which she labored, undertook a great measure. We spoke out and demanded free trade. It is but justice to gentlemen, it is but justice to the nation, that they were unanimous and perserved. England acted wisely and justly on the occasion, and restored us our rights. But of what use will this free trade be? Will it be anything but a name, if we do not seize the advantages of it by promoting it? It is impossible to do so, unless we have an opportunity of supplying our home consumption and exporting the redundancy. It is impossible to sell other nations in foreign markets, if undersold in our own. While our ports are open to the exportation of raw materials, and the importation of English manufactures, can we expect to reap any benefit from the extension of our commerce? Let us turn our thoughts to the article of cotton, and we shall find great quantities imported and not a single yard exported. The very same might be affirmed of many other manufactures. * * * * England flourished, but flourished from a different cause—from the protecting duties, which procured her a home market. She soon outstripped all other nations in her manufactures, but in the reign of Elizabeth, the rest of Europe, perceiving the good effects of the measure to England, began to lay on protecting duties also. * * * In 1616, the English exports decreased £160,000. In some time after, the balance was found to be more considerably against her, her imports being above £1,000,000, and her exports not quite £300,000 a year. She then found it necessary to recur to fresh protecting duties, and to prohibit the importation of broad silk. She also saw it necessary to prohibit the wear of India goods. These protecting duties have ever since been accumulating—Ireland being classed with other foreign countries. * * * Having, in real matter of fact, shown the progress and success of the manufactures of the two countries, having shown how England has risen and Ireland declined; having shown that England's system of policy is the cause of her grandeur, permit me to draw your attention to the difference of situations. In England, the lowest peasant wears a good broadcloth, feeds well, and is lodged comfortably. The face of the county presents a view of good habitations, and communicates an unspeakable pleasure to every person of feeling. I feel a warmth whenever I see and contemplate this beauty; but when I reflect on the misery of my own unhappy country, I sink on the comparison. In England, all is joy, ease, and content; it may be said in the Scripture phrase, of that country, 'The hills and valleys sing with joy.' Let us now for a moment view the wretched condition of the mass of the Irish people. The Irishman, sir, feeds the cattle whose flesh he is debarred from tasting."

The orator proceeds to compare in this manner the relative conditions of the laboring classes of England and Ireland, and draws a picture anything but favorable to the position of the latter. As in the outset, and through the body of his discourse, he attributes English prosperity to English protection, and Irish poverty to the want of a protective tariff. He proved that the English manufacturers in that day, as in this, crowded the markets of Ireland with their commodities—selling on long time, losing sight of present profit in view of the future destruction of all rivalship. Mr. Gardner concluded in these words:

"The advantages of the man of landed estate and of the manufacturer are reciprocal; for the prosperity of the one is the support of the other. Therefore, I report the following resolutions:

"*Resolved,* That it appears to this house, that the working manufacturers of this kingdom are in the greatest poverty and distress.

"Secondly, That the importation of foreign manufactures into this kingdom, has of late considerably increased and still continues to increase;" and

"Thirdly, That this great English importation, by impeding our manufactures, is the cause of this poverty and distress.

Principles like these enacted into laws soon gave an impetus and solidity to the trade of Ireland that caused the people to go to work with

a heart and a will, in fact, with a bound the country became as busy as a hive; poverty winged its flight from the land and the people looked to the future with aspirations for permanent liberty that were encouraged by the establishment of the young republic of the West. The news of Ireland's prosperity reached the home of the weary-laden in other countries, which attracted many good tradesmen to her shores, all of whom received a welcome. At the same time her prosperity aroused a jealously in her old enemy, England, that in time proved her ruin.

To such an extent did Ireland march on the road to prosperity on account of this protection that at this time, a committee representing many thousands of citizens, principally mechanics, from Zurich and Berne, in the Republic of Geneva, Switzerland, arrived in Ireland to make arrangements for the immigration of a large number of Swiss from Geneva into Ireland. The Irish Parliament appropriated £50,000 to assist the movement and arranged for locating them on the confines of the rivers Barrow and Suir, in Waterford; but owing to the Swiss demanding a local government independent of the Irish government negotiations were broken off.

Lord Clare, speaking about the condition of Ireland at this period, says: "There is not *a civilized nation on the face of the habitable globe* which had advanced in *cultivation*, in *agriculture*, in *manufacture*, with the same rapidity in the same period as Ireland."

Lord Plunket, describing Ireland at the same time, says: "Laws well arranged and administered, a constitution fully recognized and established, her revenues, her trade, her manufactures, thriving beyond the hope or example of any other country of her extent."

Thus we see in a few years Ireland, that had five famines during the first three quarters of the century, through the wisdom of its Parliament in fostering and protecting native industry, was lifted up, as if by magic, into prosperity and wealth; squalor making room for comfort, and despondency for hope, the population multiplied, emigration ceased, and the White Boys, Peep O'Day Boys, &c. went into the factories to become honest, industrious citizens.

As soon as England got through with the American war, which resulted in the independence of the United States, she turned her attention to Ireland and sought to cripple her prosperity. Her first move on the chess board was to try to get Ireland to enter into a Reciprocity Treaty with her. This was rejected by the Irsh Parliament amidst illuminations by the people. Failing in this a union of both countries was resolved on, and under the lead of Pitt and Castlereagh [the latter afterwards cut his own throat] the government laid their plans of fraud, bribery and corruption to carry out a union. To do this the people were goaded into desperation, the country was filled with the Hessian hirelings, that were whipped out of America, and the most blood-thirsty officers in the British service were ordered to Ireland. Hanging, disemboweling of men, women and children became daily occurrences; the Court Martial and Pitch Cap took the place of jury and witnesses; churches, houses and crops were laid in ashes and a fever of terrorism was created throughout the land.

The United Irishmen, a patriotic organization, saw that the government was determined to force a revolution and tried to prepare for the crisis; but in Wexford, where the society did not exist and consequently the people were not under its discipline, the government forced an out-

break. For a few weeks those unarmed peasants swept over the disciplined ranks of the British army like a simoon over a caravan in the desert.

It was only a matter of a short time, for England wanted but an outbreak to proclaim peace by saturating Ireland with the blood of her children.

Having cowed the people into terror, hanged and transported their leaders, the country still swarming with soldiers in 1799 that blighting curse, the "Act of Union" was presented to the Irish Parliament and on this occasion was defeated for among others the following reason, from Address of the House of Commons to the King:

"Giving the name of Union to the measure is a delusion * * In manufactures, any attempt it makes to offer any benefit which we do not now enjoy is vain and delusive; and wherever it is to have effect, that effect will be to our injury. Most of the duties on imports, which operate as protection to our manufactures, are, under its provisions, to be either removed or reduced immediately, and these which will be reduced are to cease entirely at a limited time. Though many of our manufactures owe their existence to the protection of those duties, and though it is not in the power of human wisdom to forsee any precise time when they may be able to thrive without them, your majesty's faithful Commons feel more than ordinary interest in laying this fact before you, because they have, under your approbation, raised up and nursed many of these manufactures, and by so doing have encouraged much capital to be invested in them; the proprietors of which are now to be left unprotected, and to be deprived of the Parliament, on whose faith they embarked themselves, their families and properties, in the undertaking."—*Plowden's Review*, Vol. 5, Appendix, page 34.

Defeated in the first attack, England immediately set Castlereagh to work on corrupt representatives, and finally by creating rotton boroughs, appointing Scotch members, dealing out British gold, and by the most unblushing corruption the measure was carried in the succeeding year, 1800.

That this measure, the Act of Union, was simply a free trade conspiracy to break down Irish industries the history of Ireland since too plainly indicates. The written act itself shows on its face that the destruction of Irish industry was the sole aim and object of England's forcing on Ireland that most infamous "Union." The following is part of the compact:

The duties on woolens was to continue for twenty years. The duties on calicoes and muslins until 1808 and those on cotton until 1810.

IRISH GOODS SHIPPED INTO ENGLAND.

	£	S	P
Beer	0	8	0
Bricks, Tiles, &c @	5	12	10
Candles lb	0	8	1
Cordage Ton	4	10	3
Cider hhd	0	19	2
Glass sg. foot	0	2	2½
" Flint or enameled, per cwt	2	3	6
Leather lb	1½d	to	4s
Paper, Glazed, per cwt	0	6	0
Silk ribbon per lb	0	5	0
Gold mixed ribbons "	0	6	8
Silk stocking gloves &c. "	0	3	0
Miscellaneous silk, silk ware, per lb	0	4	0
Soap "	0	0	2½
Spirits per gal	0	5	1½
Starch per lb	0	0	5½
Confectionary "	2	2	0
Tobacco "	0	1	7
Snuff "	0	1	10½

ENGLISH GOODS SHIPPED INTO IRELAND.

	£	S	P
Beer	0	4	6
Bricks, Tiles, &c		free	
Candles per lb		free	
Cordage Ton		free	
Cider hhg		free	
Glass sq. foot		free	
" Flint or enameld, per cwt.		free	
Leather per lb	1d	to	2s 6d
Paper, glazed per cwt	0	0	5
Silk ribbon per lb	0	2	1
Gold mixed ribbons "	0	2	9
Silk stockings, glove, &c. "	0	1	3
Miscellaneous silk, silk ware per lb		1	8
Soap		free	
Spirits per gal	0	3	7
Starch per lb		free	
Confectionary "	0	10	0
Tobacco "	0	1	½
Snuff "	0	0	10½

After 1821 Ireland was to have perfect free trade.

The above list taken from the Act of Union as published in Plowden's Review of Ireland shows the hypocrisy of this boasted free trader of to-day. It will also show the American citizen how much free trade England takes in her sauce when she comes in contact with a nation that can undersell her in her own market.

That this Act of Union was carried by most corrupt and unblushing bribery has now become a matter of history. *Battersby's Repealer's Manual* gives a summing up of this wedding of two nations.

"The amount of salaries given to those who held places during the King's pleasure and whose votes mainly contrived to carry the Union, is set down at £68,877, in addition there were twenty-six lawyers who received places; two hundred borough mongers, who received for their votes £1,500,000; *New Titles*—61 were given for marquises, 6 earls, 13 viscounts, 3 viscountesses, 23 barons, 12 baronets. * * * The price of a single vote was familiarly known—it was £8,000, or a civil or military appointment to the value of £2,000 per annum. They were considered by the government party simple-who only took one of three. The dexterous always managed to get at least two of three, and it would not be difficult to mention the names of twelve or twenty members who contrived to obtain the entire three—the £8,000, the civil appointment, and the military appointment.

The above extract from Mr. Battersby's book falls far short of giving an account of all the corrupt means and British gold that were used to subvert the liberties and transfer the trade of Ireland, with only five or six millions of people, to her sister [?] across the channel. Still it will be sufficent for the reader to base an estimate of how much England will spend to get control of the trade of fifty millions of people, such as wield the destinies of the United States. This question is not to be sneered at, for the insidious agency of British gold has many times fettered the prospects and blighted the happiness of the American people.

It is only in an Irish Parliament, steeped in English corruption, and in a country dragooned to death by English hirelings, that so hideous an act of national suicide could have been accomplished. Irishmen must blush with shame and burn with rage when they remember this outrageous fraud. It is needless to say that the Irish never asked for union; never had an opportunity to express their desires by a vote, and never wanted it; on the contrary twenty-six out of thirty-two counties, including all of the principal cities, protested by petition to Parliament against this accursed free trade union.

PART V.

IRELAND UNDER FREE TRADE.

The passage of the "Act of Union" was the signal for the English manufacturers to crowd the ports of Ireland with their goods; these they sold and continued to sell for some time at a loss, to break down the Irish manufacturers, thus preventing the Irish from enjoying the ten or fifteen years of tariff allowed by the Act of Union—designed, I presume, from a charitable [?] motive to give the Irish a slow death. But the avarice of the English manufacturer would not grant the Irish that small favor. The failure of the crops in 1801 gave the people a foretaste of the poverty that was to come on Ireland more and more in the future. The wars of Napoleon kept up the prices of farm products until 1815, then, as if the

sun went out in the heavens, gloom and poverty spread over the face of of the land.

I desire to call the special attention of my readers to the dreadful results that naturally flow from a disruption of the laws of trade and labor, which has been most fearfully illustrated by the unhappy history of Ireland since the Union.

Long before 1808, which brought free trade in calicoes and muslins, the importations of English goods compelled the Irish manufacturers to curtail production, suspend, and discharge their hands; time only added to the number, in a few years tens of thousands of mechanics were turned out into the world, with no prospects for work at their trade, which in the future would be done by England. These mechanics loved their country, associates and families. And as America was not as good a place for mechanics then as now, they looked around to see where they could earn their bread. They found that instead of being consumers of raw materials they had to become producers. Nothing remained from which they could earn their bread but the land. The land was already occupied and possession could be got only by offering a higher price [rent] for it. To the man in possession of it life and country was just as dear. He naturally offered a higher price to keep possession. Thus a competition was created that raised the rents above living prices. Five, six, eight and ten pounds an acre was offered and paid per year for land. This brought up the rent so high that low wages and the cheapest food became a necessity, and even with all this economy the tenant in consequence of this high rent was unable to give the land the food [fertilizing] that nature demanded. Hence it was only a matter of time for the tenant to draw from the land all the chemical qualities that go to make up the crops in vogue—potatoes, wheat, &c., for a rotation of crops was out of the question, as the tenant was too poor to purchase seeds or practice experiments. When the land was thus impoverished, taking all out, giving nothing back for several years, the result was the "Blight" and famine of 1831 and 1845, which swept two and a half million of the Irish people into emigrant ships or pauper graves. Thus we can trace to this accursed free trade this most terrible of all the allies of British interests, a periodical pestilence that every few years sweeps from the face of the earth, by an artificially created famine, a people who would be happy, blithe and gay if they were permitted to follow the laws of nature and earn their bread by a diversified industry.

In 1816 subscriptions to the amount of £18,580 were raised for unemployed weavers in Dublin, and those skilled mechanics, who should be their country's pride, were shipped to England and France to enrich those countries by their labor and experience.

The cotton factories of Celbridge, Prosperios, Drogheda, Belfast, Clonmell, Cork, Killmacktomas, Mountrath, and other places, under the pressure of free trade, closed their doors never to open; they sent 30,000 operatives to swell the crowd of idle labor. What Marmion in his Maritime Ports [page 534] says of Cork, can be applied to all the manufacturing cities of Ireland:

"Cork formerly manufactured woolen clothing, baize, camlets, and serge, also linen, sheetings and canvas; the suburb of Blackpool was especially engaged in these pursuits as well as wool combing, spinning, and dyeing, all of which continued to prosper until the Union protecting duties expired, when they gradually declined. * * * Some vestige of the woolen trade still lingers here." (1858.)

According to government reports of 1822 there was then in Ireland a
Population of.....8,000,000
Employed.....2,800,000
Unemployed.....5,200,000

Estimating 1,200,000 of the unemployed who were not compelled from necessity to work, this will leave 4,000,000 of people who had no capital but their labor, and from whom the government had just removed the means and power by which those people could utilize their capital [labor], for the reader must bear in mind that it was in 1821, just the year previous, that Ireland was blessed [?] with perfect free trade, which brought a suspension of nearly all the industries of that country. Now mark the result: It was in 1822 that the organizations of "White Boys," "Jack Rocks" and "Terra Alts" were developed in Ireland. These organizations appeared only at night and disguised; they took arms from the houses of the wealthy, more particularly from those who were known to be "strong government men;" they punished farmers, or house-keepers who over-charged the poor; they clipped the ears of Baliffs; they shot landlords and policemen; burned down barracks, and in fact took upon themselves all sorts of private and public vengeance, until they became the terror of the wealthy, especially the mean and stingy, and the friend of the needy and indigent, a community that according to government reports equaled one half of the entire population. The question might be asked. Who were these desperate men, or where did they come from? The simple answer is, they were the hitherto industrious workmen of Ireland, whom the free trade of 1821 had turned out into the world with no market to sell their labor, no food in the larder, and no money to buy the necessaries of life, who were compelled to starve, steal, or turn highwaymen.

The following description of the condition of the people by Mr. Owen, who traveled in Ireland in 1823, taken from Battersby's Repealer's Manual will give the reader a vivid idea of the situation:

"During my journey through the country, I saw many living under circumstances so wretched that had I not been an eye witness of their sufferings I should have doubted whether human nature could support life under the privations which they experienced. I saw a large majority of the peasantry without capital or the means to exert their industry to any really useful purpose."

"I saw the towns occupied by crowds, whose poverty was hourly increasing while they live in dirt and disease, and are subject to almost every discomfort and disadvantage both for producing and consuming."

"I saw the merchants and manufacture's living on hope and the remains of former gains, while I know that their expectations of life from the sources from which they looked for it must terminate in disappointment, and in many cases in ruin. I saw the landed proprietor and the landholder, after they had employed their capital and exerted their industry with skill and ability, frequently by these means bringing more speedy distress upon themselves and their families; and I have often heard them express strong fears that the time was near at hand when their tenantry would not be able to pay rent. I heard the clergy in many districts declare that the poverty of the farmers was so rapidly increasing that they know not how hereafter the tithes could be collected. I saw females in higher ranks of life, who had devoted almost all their time and all their surplus means to relieve the sufferings of the poor around them, nearly in despair because they found distress increasing in many instances apparently in proportion to their efforts to remove it."

"I saw thousands of full grown females most anxious to be employed, that they might in a long hard day of work earn two pence; and strong active men equally desirous that they might be permitted to labor fourteen hours in an unhealthy, disagreeable and useless employment to obtain eight pence!"

"I saw multitudes of both sexes who could not procure one or the other. I saw a nobility and gentry really desirous of ameliorating the condition of those around them and making sacrifices of time and money in various attempts to accomplish their wishes (these must be few indeed); and yet so unsuccessful were their efforts that they deemed it necessary to barricade the house which they occupied, as though a powerful enemy surrounded their dwellings and threatened a mighty attack. In short, I saw human nature through all its gyrations, opposed to itself, perplexed, confounded, conscious of the error in which it was involved, without having any conception of the means by which the error could be removed or relief obtained."

"These were the sufferings which were more or less conspicuous throughout the whole of my tour."

"In opposition to these, however, I saw a soil fertile beyond previous conception I had formed of it; a climate well suited to the soil, rivers, harbors, and coasts presenting great natural advantages, a country in fact possessing resources, which, whenever she shall be called into action, will be more sufficient to support in high comfort upwards of 50,000,000 of inhabitants, while at present the island has only seven millions, who if their *industry* were properly directed, could with ease and pleasure to themselves create abundance of all the necessaries, comforts, and beneficial luxuries of life, for a population of at least four times their number."

"Such are the striking contrasts which this island at this moment presents! Why then are not its invaluable natural advantages applied for the benefit of its inhabitants? Why are its proprietors compelled to seek place and enjoyment in other countries, or remain at home to witness poverty and discontent around them, and feel no security in their situation? Who is to blame? Why inflict this misery upon the entire population of Ireland?"

Well might Mr. Owen ask "Why inflict this misery upon the entire population of Ireland?" For it would seem from his description of Ireland just after receiving the blessing [?] of Free Trade that he had not a full conception of the philosophy that makes British interests a greater necessity than the happiness, prosperity, or preservation of any people. The writer is acquainted with a lady in this State, now over 80 years old, who was at that time [1821], a young married woman. Her husband owned 35 silk looms in Dublin and had received the premium in London in 1819, for the best silk ribbon manufactured in the Kingdom, but, when the tariff was taken off in 1821, he had to close his door, discharge his hands and in a few years emigrate to America, where he found employment at the highly mechanical art [?] of cleaning bricks at fifty cents per day. America needed no silk weavers then, she had free trade, and England supplied her with manufactured goods, while her own labor sought in vain for employment. Thus Ireland's manhood, genius and experience were scattered over the world, to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water," because English cupidity through free trade demanded their natural inheritance.

The following comparative view of the condition of the manufactures and working men of Ireland, before and since the Union, will illustrate how much Free Trade has done for that country:

	NUMBER OF MEN EMPLOYED BEFORE FREE TRADE		AFTER.
1800	Limerick, one branch of trade, ...	15,000	1831 None
"	Cork, Glove makers, " "	3,000	" 500
"	" Shoe makers, " "	300	" 100
"	Youghal, 7 large tanneries, "		" None
"	" Wool Combers, "	200	" 12
"	Dublin, all trades, ...	30,000	" 10,000
"	" Prosperous, weavers, ...	5,000	" 100
"	" Stocking making, ...	600	" None
"	Drogheda, " "	2,000	" 600
"	Dublin, Libertie's weavers, ...	4,000	" 100

1800	Kilkenny, 1 Parish, St. Canice,	4,000	1831	98
"	Carrack, one of branch trade,	5,000	"	40
"	In all Ireland, Working at cotton,	30,000	"	500
"	" " " " Linen yard,	20,000	"	3,000
"	Dublin, Silk weavers,	15,000	"	441

*Battersby Repealers Manual.

*Dublin	1800	Master woolen manufacturers,	91	1840	12
"	"	hands employed,	4,918	"	602
"	"	Master wool combers,	30	"	5
"	"	hands employed	230	"	66
"	"	Carpet manufacturers	13	1841	1
"	"	hands employed	720	"	None
Kilkenny	"	Blanket manufacturers	56	1822	42
"	"	hands employed	3,000	"	925
Balbriggan	1799	Calico looms at work	2,500	1841	226
Wicklow	1800	Hand looms at work	1,000	"	None
Cork	"	Braid weavers	1,000	1834	40
"	"	Worsted weavers	2,000	"	90
"	"	Hosiers	300	"	28
"	"	Cotton weavers	2,000	"	220
"	"	Wool combers	700	"	110
"	"	Linen check weavers	600	"	None
"	"	Cotton spinners, bleachers, calico printers by thousands		"	None

*This list was furnished by Isaac Butt, to the author of Sophisms of Free Trade, J. Barnard Byles, Esq.

To those gentlemen who claim that a tariff is a tax on intelligence, I beg to call their attention to the following quotation from *Battersby's Repealer's Manual*, Page 159.

"We have now before us a catalogue of books, published in Dublin before the Union. It contains 20,000 volumes in all languages, and all sciences. Let any man read this list and see, were there not more works printed in one year before the Union than in thirty years since."

In this catalogue could be found all the works demaned by science and polite literature *Chamber's, Encyclopædia* in 5 folio volumes, *Encyclopædia Britannica* in twenty quarto volumes, &c. The trade of America was supplied from Ireland. Has there been any book trade since in that country? Yes! the publication of Prayer books and a few National works, by which an impoverished people try to support an impoverished publisher; these are the only publications Ireland has had since Free Trade became a fixed fact in that unhappy country.

Mr. Ensor in his work entitled *Ireland as She Ought to Be*, sums up the result of Free Trade on literature in Ireland.

"The capital city was to become an Athenæum! Yet it lost nearly all its printing business, no book is now published in Dublin, which issued Encyclopædias, Dictionaries, &c., and supplied the American market. Pamphlets have perished, for comparing these publications in England and Ireland, it appears that the duty on them in England for twenty years amounted £16,188, 15s., 0d., whilst in Ireland it did not exceed £154, 17s., 4½d. Everthing connected with the latter declined, darkness overspread the land—even darkness that might be felt. It was not one star, which was extinguished, as Merope ceased to shine in the heavens, but the whole constellation of Ireland's splendor was eclipsed by the Union. *Even the sparks of intelligence were extinguished;* for Ireland lost her Parliament, the college of Dublin closed the minor senate, the Horticultural Society; and *Locke on Government* was displaced for Butler's Analogy. What a substitute! Nothing succeded after the Union, but ultra-orthodox (church ascendency) and saintly tracts."

The following comparative lists of exports and imports will show how her trade expired.

Hats exported from Ireland to America in 1800.....50,000
" " " " " 1831.....300

Raw silk imported into Ireland for manufacturing purposes in
1797.....144,275lb
1831.....3190lb

Shoes exported to America in 1783.....£14,803

Does Ireland export any shoes now? No!

For even the occupation of the village shoemaker is gone, as all the shoes that Ireland wears are now made in England.

Fish exported in 1793:

C. N. 2 Hake,.....	1,367,310	Salmon, tons.....	251 1/10
Herring Bbl.....	48,481½	Cod, Bbl.....	272
C. No. 2 Lyng, do,.....	172		

The fishermen of Ireland under Free Trade, like all other interests, have been reduced to pauperism; their condition can be more fully realized from an extract taken from a letter just received from the Nun of Kenmare, begging for God's sake to help her suffering poor. She says: "The bay is full of fish, but the fishermen are too poor to buy boats, nets, or hooks to catch them."

Soap and candles exported in 1779—bad year,.....£71,220
" " " " 1830.....None.

Tonnage of shipping employed in Irish commerce in 1792, 534,413 tons.
" " " " " " 1831, 112,629 tons.

Forty vessels were employed before the Union in carrying Irish manufactured goods to New Foundland; in 1830 this trade, vessels, manufactures and all had disappeared.

Tea is an article the consumption of which shows the condition of the people. The following is the amount of Green Tea consumed in three years before and three years after the Union:

1786.....	716,235 lbs.	1821.....	34,592 lbs.
1787.....	830,808 "	1822.....	55,634 "
1788.....	675,771 "	1823.....	38,168 "

Tobacco consumed in Ireland in 1797.....7,947,991 "
" " " " 1828.....4,900,941 "

It must be borne in mind that the population had increased one-third while the consumption of the poor man's comforts fell off amazingly.

Population of Dublin in 1831.....300,000
Number of people destitute.....50,000

Bankrupts in Dublin:

January, February, March, April, May and June, } 1799..7. { Same months, 1810..152

Bankrupts.	Dublin.	Other parts.	Total.	
1829.....	622.....	1287.....	1909	
1830.....	597.....	1694.....	2293	
1831.....	632.....	1898.....	2530	6733

To sum up this catalogue of Ireland's wrongs, I would ask the reader to go over the figures in this pamphlet showing the number of people employed in factories before the Union, which does not pretend to be complete, but incomplete as it is, you will find where 200,000 mechanics were

employed before the Union which gave free trade to Ireland, then compare it with the following from *Cotton's Atlas*:

"In 1850 the total number of mills in Ireland was 91—of which 11 were Cotton, 11 Woolen, and 69 Linen, employing an aggregate 24,725 persons."

Here is a vacuum left by free trade. Out of 200,000 hands employed in factories [and it being only a partial list] before the Union we find it reduced to less than one-eighth in fifty years, and that being a period in which the world had increased its commerce nine hundred times —steam, telegraph and railroads having come into general use. One is appalled at what the Irish people and the world have lost, when comparing the condition of the Irish at the present time with what they would have been if the curse of free trade had never been forced on them.

Thus has Ireland been reduced to poverty and indigence by the acts of an imperial government in which she has little or nothing to say. Her people scattered over the habitable globe, her beautiful valleys turned into trenches to cover the bones of her free trade famine victims; her harbors made the rendezvous for the shipment of human beings, while Ireland, that can look back over three thousand years of civilization, is now clothed in rags with head drooped and dejected, and holding out her hand as a mendicant in abject despair at the melting away of 3,000,000 of her people in forty years.

The following sketch, taken from a speech delivered in Ireland in 1848, by the Castellar of that Revolution, Thomas Francis Meagher, speaks volumes for Ireland's loss and gain by free trade:

"The cotton manufacture of Dublin, which employed 14,000 operatives, has been destroyed; the stuff and serge manufactures, which employed 1,491 operatives, have been destroyed; the calico looms of Balbriggan have been destroyed; the flannel manufacture of Rathdrum has been destroyed; the blanket manufacture of Kilkenny has been destroyed; the camlet trade of Bandon, which produced £100,000 a a year, has been destroyed; the worsted and stuff manufactures of Waterford have been destroyed; the rateen and frieze manufactures of Carrick on Suir have been destroyed; one business alone thrives and flourishes, and dreads no bankruptcy. That fortunate business which the Union act has stood by; which the absentee drain has not slackened but has stimulated; which the drainage acts and navigation acts of the imperial senate have not deadened but invigorated; that favored, and privileged, and patronized business is the Irish coffin-maker's."—*Carey's Foreign and Domestic Slavery*.

The condition of Ireland to-day tells how truly Meagher spoke when he said that Ireland had one "favored," "privileged," "patronized" business, the "Irish coffin-maker's."

PART VI.

CONCLUSION.

In a limited space I have given a sketch of "why Ireland is poor," or rather how Ireland became poor. I invite further investigation in this fruitful field of literature, that the reader may learn the *modus operandi* of England's impoverishing the Irish race and then branding them as "lazy."

There is a familiar quotation which says: "There is a destiny that shapes our end, rough hew them as we may." Man in the hands of the Lord is the moulder of his own destiny; as with individuals, so with nations, they mould their own destiny, if they can keep out the meddling hands of foreign governments. God, in his wisdom, has given all countries the raw

products of the earth in a crude, unfinished, and in most cases, in an unprepared state for man's use. On the other hand, He has given man the cunning, genius and will to improve the raw products and increase a thousand fold the value and beauty of His creation. To make perfect his work He has given us the imperative order: "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou earn thy bread." Here, then is the pivot of prosperity, wealth and national greatness, for from land and labor comes all wealth. Hence the necessity of carefully fostering and husbanding these two articles in order that they may be constantly employed in developing the natural productions of the country and thereby adding to the strength and influence of the nation.

David Syme says in his "Restrictions on Trade:"

"The prosperity of a country depends upon the industry of its inhabitants with nations as with individuals. Poverty follows idleness and wealth industry. The true test of good statesmanship consists in applying the laws of political economy to the development of the resources of the country so as to provide for the full and profitable employment of the whole population.

This being true it becomes an imperative necessity to keep the meddling hands of foreign nations off from controling the domestic economy of this country, that its people may mould its destiny for they own benefit.

If the Irish people had control of the affairs of Ireland, and kept up a protective tariff like that instituted by the Irish Parliament of 1782, Ireland would to-day contain 20,000,000 of the happiest and wealthiest people on the face of the Globe. But the Irish people having lost the control of the government of Ireland, its destinies were shaped to further the ends of another nation, hence the Irish are the very reverse of the happiest and wealthiest people in the world. We now are brought face to face with the same question in the United States. The emissaries of British interests are prowling about this land preparing to attack the interests of this Republic, by introducing that self same principle of free trade, which ruined Ireland, and sent its people, exiles to every quarter of the world. Fortunately for us (the Irish), a friendly welcome beckoned us to the "Land of the Free and the Home the Brave," in vast numbers. *General B. F. Butler, speaking on this question some ten years ago said:*

"There are 1,600,000 Irish citizens in this country, who will work, vote, and fight against any policy in which England may be directly or indirectly interested."

If this be so, then it is also fortunate for the republic that we became its citizens. For England in the avaricious march of her British interests, having reduced her victim nations, India, Ireland, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, &c., to such dire poverty that they no longer afford good pasture grounds for her gluttonous appetite, turns with longing eyes to the rich pasture-fields of American industry, and hopes through the agency of the Cobden Club to induce the people of the United States, to adopt that nation-killing policy of free trade, destroy the workshops of America and reduce American labor to the condition of the pauper labor of Europe, to enable her to make the United States a draw farm as she has Ireland.

Forty-eight years ago, the nullifiers of South Carolina in opposition to the principles on which General Jackson was elected President, forced on the Democratic Party, the policy of free trade. The immediate result of that act was the panic of 1837, that caused a loss of thousands of millions of dollars to the American people, and raised up for the first time in the Republic, those delectable institutions [?] for supporting mechanics known as public soup houses. Through the agency of the Democratic party, free trade was repeated in 1846, which resulted in the panic of

1857, the distructive character of which many of the older readers will remember.

"The *London Times* once stated that "the only time England could utilize the "Celts" is when they emigrated to the United States and voted for free trade."

I ask my countrymen to look back over their political career and see if this in the majority of cases is not too true? Is it not a fact that we have been using our political influence to impoverish our adopted country, and enrich the enemy of our race, by voting for Free Trade? Such being the truth, is it not time for us to call a halt in our political acts, and look at the situation like intelligent men?

By adopting and continuing to support this infamous policy of free trade, the Democratic party has become and continues to be the friend and ally of England. In forty-eight years every free trade measure introduced into Congress was presented by democrats.

In all that time no political party has inserted a free trade plank in its platform, but the Democratic party, and in that time the majority of the Irish American citizens have given the Democratic party their allegiance. How truthfully then can the *London Times* thrust in our faces the assertion

"That the only time England can utilize the Celts is when they emigrated to the United States and voted for Free Trade."

Why has this been permitted? Why has the Democratic party with one third of its ranks made up of Irishmen dared to take the hand of England and co-operate with her, in introducing a policy into this country that impoverished and enslaved Ireland? Is it because of our blind allegiance to the word Democracy? We have permitted ourselves to become the tools of cunning politicians who are directly connected with England and duping us under the cloak of Democracy? Look to the heads of the Democratic party, the men who mould and manipulate its principles from McDuffi and Calhoun of 1832, to August Belmont of to-day; you cannot find one of them that was not "hand and glove" with England.

I ask Irishmen to look well at this! If you will be Democrats, then in heaven's name drive every vestige of this English policy from the Democratic platforms, and then, protection to American industry without opposition will be a principle that will become a factor in the laws of the land to enrich the people and nation.

In the past, when the question of Tariff and free trade was not in the fore ground of American politics, there might be some excuse for Irish Americans voting with the Democratic party; but now when the Democratic party flings to the breeze "no protection to American industry," and England, through the Cobden Club makes war on that same industry; it becomes treason doubly odious to find Irish Americans performing the work of England, just as effectively as if they were neath the blood stained cross of St. George, with the Cobden Club playing Rule Britannia, marching to the ballot box to introduce into this country that blighting system of free trade, which drove us from our native land with the "vengeance."

Mr. Gardner, in his speech in the Irish Parliament, said it was the large nubmers of Irishmen in the revolutionary army that decided the freedom of the United States. What a glorious record for Irishmen to look back to; add to this the fact that from Yorktown to Appomattox apple tree; in every battle field Irishmen have laid down their lives for the Republic. Will the Irishmen of to-day place a crown on this glorious record by hurling back into the teeth of England this abominable policy of free trade? Thus showing the world that wherever British interest raises

its head, there will be a "Celt" to stamp it out. To do this, the Irishmen of this country have only to mobilize the 1,600,000 Irish votes (that General Butler says will work, vote and fight against English interests) at the ballot box, in the coming election, and vote only for men who are known to be pledged to sustain American industry and to stamp out English free trade from under the Stars and Stripes.

To work then, fellow countrymen, and show this Ishmaelite of nations, that in driving us forth from our native land "with the vengeance," she has left us an inheritance of "vengeance" to be paid back whenever and wherever we get the oppotunity.

There is another part of this question to be considered; in consequence of the condition of Ireland, directly traceable to free trade, the average Irishman lands in this country without any capital but his labor, hence the Irish people are more interested in keeping up the condition of the labor market than any other class in this community. Good wages and plenty of work must be the motto if we would live as free men. Can we have good wages with free trade? Better ask can we have any wages? For an answer, I refer you to the condition of the wage-workers of Ireland, Turkey, India, Spain, Portugal, England and Italy, who have been blessed[?] with free trade. Ask any old inhabitant of this country what was the condition of labor in 1837. The answer will be fifty cents a day and no work for half of the people. Most of the older readers remember 1857, when labor went begging at seventy-five cents per day. These two epochs were periods of partial free trade.

The workmen of Canada who had perfect free trade, unable to obtain work at home at sixty per-cent the wages of the workmen of the United States, crowded our cities and towns seeking for work, which free trade denied them in their native country. Even Canada, feeling the blighting results of free trade is now agitating for, and has passed laws in favor of protective tariff. But free trade theorists will say this is an agricultural country, go on the unoccupied lands. The workingmen might justly answer—how will a man without money go on to the lands? Even should the mechanics and laborers go on the land, what good will the land be without a market, in which to sell the produce? The home market is and should be the dependence of the farmer. Without a home market created by a diversified industry, the farmers of even this vast and fertile country would become like the farmers in the village of C——— in Ireland, soon after the introduction of free trade as described by one of the members of the Cobden Club in a work published by that association and called the "Cobden Club on Land Tenure, Page 11.

"Let us abandon the argument derived from the balance of trade and examine the effects of absenteeism upon the village of C——. All the property in the neighborhood, to the amount £20,000 a year, belongs to absentees. There is not a gentleman's house or garden near it. There is very little traffic, and the roads are bad. The post arrives and departs at inconvenient hours, as there is not sufficient correspondence to induce the Post Office authorities to incur any expense in improving the postal service. There are no public conveyances, as there is not traffic enough to support them. The shops are few and ill supplied. Goods are sold at a high price, and yet for want of sufficent custom the profit of the shop-keepers is very small. The district cannot support a market and the people are obliged to travel a considerable distance for their supplies. The peasant finds it impossible to obtain any price for butter, eggs, poultry and other small rural produce. They cannot be sold in the neighborhood and the expense of carriage to a distance consumes nearly the entire value. There are no means of educatien. One medical practitioner, with very little skill, has the monopoly of an immense territory from which he obtains a scanty subsistance, as the gentry who are able to give him his fees are absentees. Agriculture is in a very backward state; the implements are of the

worst kind; no improvements in either cattle or implements have been introduced within living memory. There are no gentlemen of wealth and education to know what is done in other countries to make experiments to instruct the people and introduce improvements.

I thank the Cobden Club for a better description than I was capable of making of a farming community in a free trade country. Take away free trade from Ireland and protect the industries of that country and instead of looking to that peculiar institution that England looks to as a cure for all ills, "resident gentlemen," place a factory with 300 hands in the village of C——. How quickly will the farmers find a market! how like magic will civilization float towards that unhappy people, to build school houses, good roads, public conveniences, postal facilities, and enrich its tradesmen, doctors and all!

Owing to peculiar soil and climatic reasons England has never been able to kill outright the linen trade around Belfast, Ireland, and the presence of this manufacturing interest accounts for the fact that Ulster is always free from famines and seldom has a failure in the crops. The following description of that country will serve as a companion picture for the above description of a country without manufactures. I quote from the same authority. It is in striking contrast with the impoverished village of C——. I do not remember ever reading a stronger argument in favor of Protection and against Free Trade than the description of these two sections of Ireland. The one purely agricultural, the other agricultural and manufacturing. COBDEN CLUB ON LAND TENURE, Page 49:

"The wealth obtained by the cultivation and manufacture of flax in Ulster is the cause that when a farm is to be sold *there is always some person at hand able and willing to pay for the tenant right.* In other provinces the case would be different; none of the neighbors would have money to buy the tenant right, and the purchaser would be obliged to borrow *the purchase money at a high rate of interest, as the security for payment would be of an inferior character.*

Ireland has enjoyed [?] sixty years of perfect Free Trade, and the following from a late number of the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* illustrates the Eldorado that lies before the farmers of America if we adopt free trade:

"Facts are accumulating from day to day which tend to show the almost bankrupt condition of the farming interests of this country. Not alone in the West, among the small landholders, who at the best of times were never removed far above want, is the distress intense and widespread, but even in counties noted for the thrifty and provident habits of the people and blessed with resident gentry, and, comparatively speaking, indulgent landlords. Wexford has long been known as the model county of Ireland. We believe its people have tried to bear their misfortunes with fortitude; so far as we are aware, none of them ever made an appeal to any of the relief committees, and yet in prosperous Wexford we find seventy-seven ejectment processes tried at the Quarter-Sessions, now complete, for two divisions of the county, and nearly all for non-payment of rent. What is to become of these seventy-seven families?"

Thus does Ireland, with all its natural resources, its rich soil and salubrious climate, hurl from its bosom its mechanics, its laborers and its farmers to become toilers and wanderers in strange lands, because that Vandal nation, England, will not permit her people to apply that political economy, Protective Tariff, that makes Belgium, with only two-thirds its area of land, support a larger population in happiness and prosperity, and gives the teeming millions of Frenchmen in France work, wealth and happiness—while Ireland, poor, brave, dear old Ireland, has to periodically stretch forth her hand, an unwilling mendicant among the nations of the earth, begging food for her children—a victim of English Free Trade. Do the Irishmen of America desire to repeat the sacrifice on a larger scale in America? If you do not, then cease to vote for free trade, and ally yourselves with the men who have American labor and American prosperity at heart—the men who favor protection to American industry.

IRELAND'S DECAY.

The following doleful catalogue clearly shows the steady, but sure decay that is swiftly sweeping man and beast from Ireland.

If the people of Ireland do not interpose by a revolution, or the boiling cauldron of the worlds justice, do not wipe out the heartless oligarchy that rules England; it is but a matter of time to have Ireland a howling wilderness, as free trade has made many rich sections of India.

The Registrar-General has issued his report of the annual stock-taking in Ireland, and it is a dismal and depressing document. *Decrease* is written in every page. There is a decrease of 40,609 acres in the area under crops; there is a decrease of 14,837 in the number of horses and mules; a decrease of 2,594 in the number of asses; a decrease of 146,752 in the number of cattle; a decrease of 456,542 in the number of sheep; a decrease of 223,149 in the number of pigs; a decrease of 13,155 in the number of goats, and a decrease of 356,106 in the number of poultry. This document tells of the gradual decadence in Irish farming. The land devoted to cereal crops, which in 1847 occupied 3,313,579 acres—one-fourth of the arable land, has gradually lessened, and in 1880 was only 1,766,424 acres, or less than one-eighth of the arable land. Notwithstanding the supply of seed, there is a diminution of 21,943 acres in the area under potatoes; and in green crops there is a diminution of 25,388 acres. The returns shows very painfully the effect of the past season; and the action of the landlords upon the tillage of the poor—their asses, their pigs, their goats, and their poultry, have all diminished in number. Notwithstanding the continued boasts of great prices for dairy produce, there is a decrease of 67,985 in the number of milch cows, and of 198,096 in the number of calves; in 1859 the number of milch cows in Ireland was 1,690,339; in 1880 it was reduced to 1,396,834. The decrease is 293,556. These figures show that dairy farming cannot be so profitable as those who argue in favor of high rents wish to make out, but which they are unable to prove. It is usually calculated that each milch cow should return £10 a year, and the annual loss to Ireland upon the diminished number of milch cows would be nearly three millions sterling (£2,935,560). The alleged increase in the price of butter does not compensate for this loss. The porcine race has gone down from 1,621,443 in 1871, to 849,046 in 1880; the diminution is 772,397, or about 48 per cent. The number of breeding pigs, those of one year old and upwards, which was 322,982 in 1859, has been reduced to 115,309 in 1880. The pigs under a year old, from which the market supply was drawn, has diminished by 650,857. If these animals were in the country, they would, when fat and fit for killing, represent from two to two and a half millions sterling. We miss from the return an account which used to appear in former numbers—the Emigration from Ireland. Irish farming is perishing under excessive rents.—*Munster Express.*

If the *Munster Express* would raise the same hue and cry in Ireland against English manufactured goods, that Dean Swift did in 1762, and get the people of Ireland to refuse to buy, wear or use anything but Irish manufactured goods in fact, "Burn everything that comes from England, but her coal." Capital would soon supply Ireland with Irish manufactured goods, and at the same time would create a home market for the farmer, which would make it easy for the farmer to pay his rent; in time he would learn the injustice of paying rent to a class who gave no return, and become prepared to take a life lease through the freemans lawyer. "The music of a rifle."

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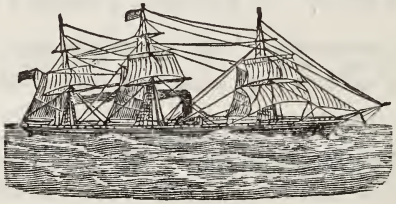

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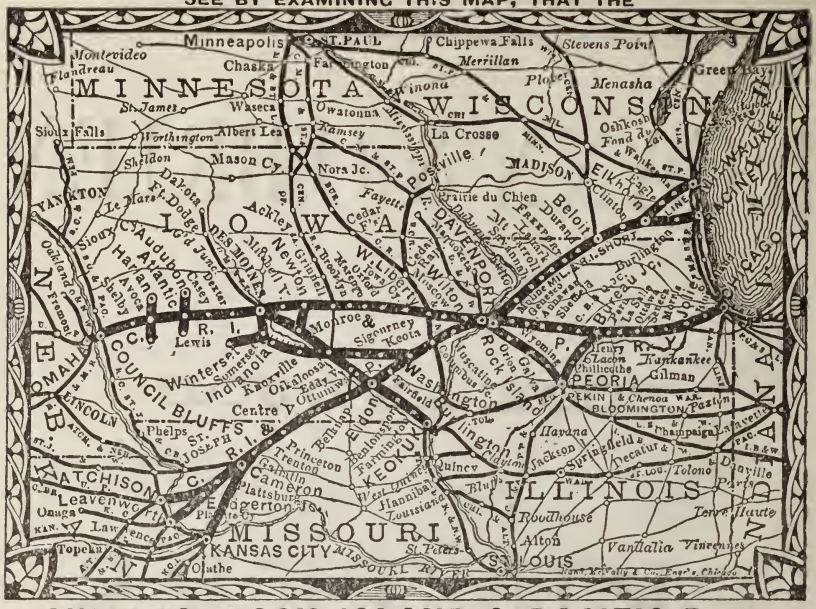

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Through Express Passenger Trains, with Pullman Palace Cars attached, are run each way daily between CHICAGO and PEORIA, KANSAS CITY, COUNCIL BLUFFS, LEAVENWORTH and ATCHISON. Through cars are also run between Milwaukee and Kansas City, via the "Milwaukee and Rock Island Short Line."

The "Great Rock Island" is magnificently equipped. Its road bed is simply perfect, and its track is laid with steel rails.

What will please you most will be the pleasure of enjoying your meals, while passing over the beautiful prairies of Illinois and Iowa, in one of our magnificent Dining Cars that accompany all Through Express Trains. You get an entire meal, as good as is served in any first-class hotel, for seventy-five cents.

Appreciating the fact that a majority of the people prefer separate apartments for different purposes (and the immense passenger business of this line warranting it), we are pleased to announce that this Company runs *Pullman Palace Sleeping Cars* for sleeping purposes, and *Palace Dining Cars* for eating purposes only. One other great feature of our Palace Cars is a SMOKING SALOON where you can enjoy your "Havana" at all hours of the day.

Magnificent Iron Bridges span the Mississippi and Missouri rivers at all points crossed by this line, and transfers are avoided at Council Bluffs, Kansas City, Leavenworth, and Atchison, connections being made in Union Depots.

THE PRINCIPAL R. R. CONNECTIONS OF THIS GREAT THROUGH LINE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

At CHICAGO, with all diverging lines for the East and South.

At ENGLEWOOD, with the L. S. & M. S., and P., Ft. W. & C. R. Rds.

At WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, with P., C. & St. L. R. R.

At LA SALLE, with Ill. Cent. R. R.

At PEORIA, with P. P. & J.; P. D. & E.; I. B. & W.; Ill. Mid.; and T. P. & W. Rds.

At ROCK ISLAND, with "Milwaukee & Rock Island Short Line," and Rock Isl'd & Peo. Rds.

At DAVENPORT, with the Davenport Division C. M. & St. P. R. R.

At WEST LIBERTY, with the B., C. R. & N. R. R.

At GRINNELL, with Central Iowa R. R.

At DES MOINES, with D. M. & F. D. R. R.

At COUNCIL BLUFFS, with Union Pacific R. R.

At OMAHA, with B. & Mo. R. R. R. in Neb.)

At COLUMBUS JUNCTION, with B., C. R. & N. R. R.

At OTTUMWA, with Central Iowa R. R.; W., St. L. & Pac., and C. B. & Q. R. Rds.

At KEOKUK, with Tol., Peo. & War.; Wab., St. Louis & Pac., and St. L., Keo. & N.-W. R. Rds.

At CAMERON, with H. St. J. R. R.

At ATCHISON, with Atch., Topeka & Santa Fe; Atch. & Neb. and Cen. Br. U. P. R. Rds.

At LEAVENWORTH, with Kan. Pac., and Kan. Cent. R. Rds.

At KANSAS CITY, with all lines for the West and Southwest.

PULLMAN PALACE CARS are run through to PEORIA, DES MOINES, COUNCIL BLUFFS, KANSAS CITY, ATCHISON, and LEAVENWORTH.

Tickets via this Line, known as the "Great Rock Island Route," are sold by all Ticket Agents in the United States and Canada.

For information not obtainable at your home ticket office, address,

R. R. CABLE,
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